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Near East & South Asia

ISRAEL

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International Affairs

Call for Economy Independent of U.S.

93AE0146A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
11 Aug 92 p B1

[Article by Efraim Reiner]

[Text] To whom does the government answer in Britain? Eighth-grade students were asked this in the well-known "survey" test. Those who knew answered: to Parliament. And to what is the government subordinate in the United States? To the law. And to whom is the government in Israel subject? Students from Hashomer Hatza'ir kibbutzim answered: to the United States, of course! Flustered teachers dressed them down but the media got a kick out of it.

Even students from the extreme right would not give that answer today. Still, in light of the fear roused in us by the results of America's "change in priorities," it is worth reconsidering the nature of Israel's relation to "its great friend."

Menachem Begin once supplied a negative definition: "Israel is not a banana republic." He did not need to say much more. It isn't Israel's fault that she is not a republic of that sort. Her isolation in the Middle East has been reserved for her by the greed of international corporations, which have become expert in exploiting defenseless nations.

If, indeed, the dreams of privatization come true - if we hand over to foreigners control of such concerns as "Israel Chemicals," Bezeq [national telephone company] and the Electric Corporation, not to mention control of the major banks - the question must be answered, what kind of republic is Israel? The proposal to relinquish the state's legal jurisdiction over free trade zones hints at the trend.

In the meantime, however, Israel is a sovereign state. Only one "small" matter stands between her and existence as an independent nation: her economic dependence on foreign assistance. A drought in Israel is paid for from the natural disaster fund, but no one could cover a budgetary drought in the United States. One may ask what is so terrible if a great power sees fit to set aside a trifling fraction of its resources so we can live in relative comfort. Only a jerk would complain about a money machine that permits unlimited cash withdrawals. For all that, something happens to a nation's basic values when it gets used - and close to 50 years of shelter under the umbrella of this assistance is enough - to living above its means.

The political establishment feels threatened by the steep rise in the unemployment rate or the increasing numbers of the poor. Economic independence? Even professional economists no longer talk about it. Now Yitzhaq Rabin will go to Washington and receive Bill Clinton's pledge to maintain the level of aid. Everyone will applaud him.

Begin became the butt of ridicule when he rejected an offer of grants and reluctantly agreed to take a loan instead. The interest we're supposed to pay on that loan is covered by the American taxpayer in the grants given us today. If only it were so for the kibbutzim, the moshavim, and overburdened mortgage holders.

The president of the Bank of Israel succeeded in stirring the Knesset, perhaps for the first time in its history, into introducing long-term budget legislation. From now on, Israel must reduce its budget deficit each year until its gone.

Every government's budget deficit is controversial, but it happens in this case that cutting the deficit and pledging to eliminate it are measures taken, among other reasons, to assure Israel's foreign aid. In other words, so it won't be forced to rely only on its own resources and, for lack of an alternative, attain economic independence.

It will be interesting to see if the president of the bank is correct in treating the problem of Israel's dependence on American aid in this way. If it really is possible to bring down the state's budget deficit gradually and lower the corporate tax rate by 1% each year, perhaps it is possible to deal with the aid issue in the same manner.

Here is a proposal, neither new nor original, from which the political institutions and Knesset committees responsible for this have always recoiled: Israel will settle its American aid as part of a binding long-term agreement by which the level of aid will gradually be reduced and eventually ended over a period of years. This will be the time in which Israel takes on itself the responsibility, anchored by legislative enactment, to attain political sovereignty by gaining economic independence. It will do this of its own volition, not by compulsion because of a change in American priorities.

The United States will be asked to aid a nation that has accepted the responsibility of standing on its own feet; in Israeli parlance, aid in return for a recovery program. Rabin and Clinton will have eight years at most in office. Cutting aid by one-eighth each year will enable them, during their terms in office, to complete the missing dimension in the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States—equality of position. It would be worth preparing a "working paper" in the spirit of these recommendations for the first meeting between the Israeli prime minister and the American president-elect.

Business Activity, Opportunities in Poland Described

93AE0111A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 3 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Benny Barak: "Warsaw Is in Our Hands"]

[Text] These days, when you come across the prestigious hotels in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, you will certainly hear the Hebrew language being spoken in the

lobby, the coffee shops, or the restaurants. At the Marriott Hotel, for example, one of the most elegant in Warsaw (150 dollars per night), they occasionally organize an "Israeli dinner" (pearls from the menu: hummus and falafel).

Poland is still busy recovering from the damages of the communist regime. The dark and meager shops are disappearing, and are being replaced by elegant shopping centers, shiny stores, and lively street markets. Israeli businessmen, smelling opportunity, hurry to jump on the Polish wagon. They are establishing developed commercial ties, buying and selling, exporting and importing, establishing "contacts" with the authorities. In short, they are getting along.

So who is who in Poland? One of the dominant Israeli businessmen there is Aryeh Koren. Koren represents Bell (aviation), Kodak (photography), Rayban (optics), Paloma Picasso Perfumes, and more in Poland. He also operates a chain of 130 stores throughout eastern Europe. He is considered very close to the Polish Government. Recently, he even proposed to our air force that it purchase light training planes in Poland, used by the Polish Air Force. Koren, as befits his status, resides in the villa section of Warsaw.

Itzik Toral is also active in Poland. In recent years, he resided in the United States. From there, he began his contacts with the eastern European country. [He did so] first as an agent for Gerber (baby food), and afterwards as the owner of a huge store (three stories) selling toys and juvenile products. Thanks to Toral, many Polish babies are now wrapped in disposable diapers manufactured by Kibbutz 'Amir. Toral has a large and elegant office in Warsaw, where his company—"Multi Investment Marketing"—is located.

Motti Shein, formerly director general of Shearson Clal, recently arrived in Poland. Shein, who was considered one of the most brilliant financial minds in Israel, emigrated after he was forced to leave Shearson Clal in the wake of the Proshinovsky affair. He was charged with not being aware of the fact that Proshinovsky (whom he brought to Shearson Clal) was an international crook. Shein is a consultant to American companies seeking to become involved in the huge privatization going on in Poland. He is affiliated with Avner Paltek, an Israeli businessman residing in Tel Aviv.

Israelis are also found in the food business. In Warsaw's modern market, it is now possible to buy pita bread, manufactured by the bakery of another Israeli—'Ami Harel. It is also possible to find products by Elite, manufactured in a plant in Poland, which was established as a joint venture of the candy company and local investors. Halva is also available in Poland, manufactured locally by a company named Olympus Halva. It goes without saying that the company belongs to three Israelis.

Another company was established at the beginning of the year, also belonging to two Israelis who have resided

abroad in recent years—Menahem Bull, an Israeli born in Poland, and Attorney Haim Burstein. The two brought in another partner, Mark Pogonovsky. The latter is Polish. He served for five years as the economic attache of his country in Britain, where he acquired experience and friends. Former senior officials in the Polish government have also joined the company.

"The objective of the company," explains Pogonovsky, "is to advance the establishment of businesses in Poland. We create the ties between the investors and the companies expressing an interest in doing business here. We have good connections in Poland, because we employ employees who are involved in what is happening here. We deal in energy, food, security (together with Israeli plants), real estate and industry." Recently, they signed a deal for the installation of airconditioners manufactured by Alex in the Polish Polonez automobiles.

"The Polish market, in contrast to what many think, is crying out for good products," Bull explains the secret of his success. Our great surprise was when we brought a collection of Oberzon bathing suits. Each of them cost close to 300 dollars. They were really snatched up."

The "Art B." affair (two Polish businessmen who made millions in their homeland and then fled to Israel) has hurt Israel's image. We are perceived by the Polish businessman as a refuge for cheats and as dealing in illegal funds. Menahem Bull is optimistic, however. "As time goes by, the things are forgotten," he says calmly.

A stock market has already started to operate in Warsaw, but the road to Wall Street is still long. Trading takes place only twice a week, and only 12 firms are currently included in the list of trading companies. The stock market is still closed to foreigners. The reason: to prevent foreigners from acquiring control for ridiculous prices.

There are extremely wealthy people in Poland, and abjectly poor ones. The average wage in Poland is approximately 200 dollars per month. A senior official, earning 1,000 dollars per month, is considered wealthy in local terms. The director general of FSO (the huge automobile company manufacturing the Polonez) earns approximately 4,000 dollars per month, and that is already legendary wealth on a Polish scale.

It is unclear how, despite the low wages, the luxury stores are so crowded. In Warsaw, there are no more lines at the doors of the food stores. The lines have moved to the doors of the Benetton, Adidas, and Levis stores. One can purchase counterfeit Levis in the bazaars for 11 dollars, but the Poles prefer the original, which costs three times as much.

[box]

The Polish Trick

Sneaky businessmen can exploit the complicated monetary system in Poland. This is how it works: since there

are no trade limitations, one can convert zloty to dollars and vice versa with any moneychanger in the street. There is no limit on quantity, and there is no need to present withdrawal confirmations, receipts, or any other document—not even a passport. The rate of exchange in Poland is practically fixed. The inflation reaches 60 percent annually, and the annual interest on a bank deposit reaches approximately 50 percent.

So what do they do? They bring dollars into Poland, convert them to zloty, and deposit them in the bank, where they pay annual interest of 50 percent. Does that look like a bad deal? Wrong. It is true that the interest is negative, in real terms, since inflation is in excess of 60 percent. But the rate of exchange is stable. That is the sting: after one year, for example, there is an increase of 50 percent in the amount of zloty in the bank. So you withdraw them, convert them back to dollars at the fixed rate, and that is it. At the end of the trick, a handsome dollar profit has accrued. The last problem is getting the money out of Poland, but that is another story altogether. [end box]

Regional Affairs

Government Attitude Toward Syria Criticized

93AE0111D Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
in Hebrew 3 Nov 92

[Article by former foreign minister, MK (Knesset member) David Levi: "No Cover for Optimism"]

[Text] Today, the members of the Shuhman family are ascending to the grave of Vadim, of blessed memory, 14 years old, who was killed last week by a Katyusha rocket that hit him in Qiryat Shemona. While it is true that the finger that pressed the button of the rocket launcher belonged to a wicked member of the Hizbollah organization, the hand that allowed the fire—not to mention directing it, even according to the Rabin government—is the long arm of Syria. The Hizbollah train in the area of the Bekaa valley that is under the control of the Syrian and the weapons and means of terrorism that the organization receives from Iran pass under Assad's open eye, with his full knowledge.

And what does the Rabin government do? Not only is the government, via the head of the Israeli team to the negotiations with Syria, Professor Itamar Rabinowitz, failing to categorically demand that the Syrians cease the acts of terrorism immediately, but also it is even cautious about raising the issue within the framework of the talks, with the canting claim: if we demand that the Syrians terminate the attacks from the Lebanese border, they will also be likely to make demands of us, as the learned professor explains.

The government prefers to direct the finger of blame toward the direction of the "government of Lebanon," which is devoid of influence.

Thus, with hypocritical hesitation replacing political wisdom, Mr. Rabin's draft has turned into a firing range, with the residents of Israel living along the northern border in the middle, and the desire to present progress at any price rendering the negotiations defective and the price intolerable.

The same terrorist reality that just a few months ago was explained by spokesmen for the Labor party as the direct outcome of the ostensible deadlock in the negotiations, now—upon the change in government, when it is no longer possible to blame the Likud for every thing and and issue—the government spokesmen hurry to expalin: "the increase in acts of hostility are the direct outcome of the progress in the peace process." They are still likely, God forbid, to explain to us that the greater the increase in terrorist activity, we should feel optimism and relief, for this is a sign that the long desired peace is approaching.

The torrent of concessionist declarations on the once hand, and the failure to express a staunch position by the Israeli team to the talks with Syria regarding the acts of terrorism, on the other hand, cause Israel to come to the peace talks like a debtor. In effect, the negotiations revolve solely around the concessions that Israel is asked to make.

The Rabin government is squandering, to our great regret, the political assets that we deposited in its hands. The rules of the game and the principles that were formulated by the Likud government, and had, in effect, been accepted by the Arabs and the Americans, have now been distorted, and we are creating real political distress with our own hands.

The pride over the ostensible agreement with Jordan and the illusion as if the very Syrian willingness to present us with extremist demands in a written document is a sign of progress—all of this leads us to a dead end road and a price that even the Rabin government, with its concessionist concepts, will not be able to pay.

The government is leading itself by a circuitous route to the inevitable result of external intervention in the negotiations, in order to prevent a deadlock. Thus, it will cause by its own deeds that this process, which was intended to make peace with our neighbors, will bring about a confrontation with the greatest of our friends. The negotiations are approaching the critical point at which the government of Israel, in its attempts to insist upon the vital minimum, will be presented as extremist and as refusing peace.

The government of Israel must put Syria to an international test: which path is it taking—seeking peace or giving patronage to terrorism against Israel. In any event, the government of Israel must not give approval by silence to the Syrian support of terrorism, as a victim of the deity of declarations and to contrived optimism.

Internal Affairs

Christian, Islamic Tensions Over Bosnian Muslims

93AE0058A Nazareth AL-SINNARAH in Arabic
16 Oct 92 p 7

[Article: "Exchange of Letters Concerning Situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[Text] Letter from Shaykh Kamal Khatib of the Islamic Movement to His Beatitude, Patriarch Michel Sabah:

"I am addressing my letter to you and to all archbishops, priests, and monks, or rather, to all Christian brothers in the world, whom God blesses. Greetings, etc.

"I am addressing all Christians, particularly the Palestinian Arab Patriarch Michel Sabah. I am sending this letter to you in all censure, or rather, in regret and perplexity. I question the secretiveness of the awful silence and baffling disregard of events occurring against Muslims in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I wish to ask, why all this silence, as if events there are happening in another world? All manner of repugnant, Satanic practices are occurring there, on behalf of the Messiah, and in service to the Lord, as they allege.

"An hour scarcely passes—day or night—but the visual, audio, and written media brings to us and to you pictures that make us shudder and cause parents to go gray. Pictures of thousands of Muslim women seized and raped. Other pictures of children being slaughtered like lambs, having their throats cut, not for meat, but in ritual purity (as is the way with Muslims). Pictures of young people who have had crosses drawn on their foreheads or backs by burning or knives and of young men and fathers who have had their index fingers cut off, only because they pointed with these fingers when they swore that there was no God but God and that Muhammad was the Prophet of God. Pictures of imams hung from gallows in the doors of mosques and of mosques by the hundreds and thousands that had been destroyed, or rather, that were the target of contests and tournaments among Serbian troops (who hit the minarets first with RPG and tank shells). Perhaps, you have heard or seen this via the media. I have seen some of these horrors with my own eyes and have seen and heard the victims or their relatives.

"I would like to ask you, Patriarch Michel Sabah, how could you watch and listen to this abominable testimony, all of it in the name of Christianity? We know that the Messiah, a prophet of peace and love, did not order this. On the contrary, he decreed its opposite when he counseled one of his pupils: If someone smites you on the right cheek, turn the left cheek.

"How can you watch and listen; here lies our regret and perplexity. We are listening for you personally, not just for any archbishop or monk or church official. We have heard no one say 'no,' or condemn what is happening.

On the contrary, we have not heard of any of you standing up to defend the religion of the Messiah against those hateful criminals, who do your religion such injury.

"Why haven't we heard a statement on radio, or read a statement in the newspaper? More importantly, why haven't we heard that you have sent word to your counterpart archbishops, priests, and monks in Belgrade, those who declared openly it was a religious war? We go even further: Why didn't you send word to the pope in Rome, asking him to intervene and pray for those who were raped and for the children who were butchered in Sarajevo, and not just pray for the safety of two foreign journalists missing in southern Sudan?

"We do not mince our words nor hide the truth from you. This utter silence on your part, your terrible silence, generates a thousand and one questions in our souls.

"Brothers in humanity, race, and nation, Christians of the Holy Land: Let all of you stand as one. Listen to us, and let the world hear you reject what is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"In this, we do not beg or implore, but we advise and remember. We remember that the world's peoples today began to be linked on the basis of religion after the spurious material linkage, or even the racial linkage, was dropped. Let your position today be the bricks of respect and friendship upon which future relations must be built. This is what we hope for and what we work to achieve now. This will continue, as well, in the future, God willing.

Patriarch Michel Sabah's reply to Shaykh Kamal Khatib:
Jerusalem, 13 October 1992

"We are pleased that you sent us, through the pages of the newspaper AL-SINNARAH, your appeal, message, and brotherly call for an explanation of our position about a serious matter. It would also please us if such explanations were to increase concerning positions that concern Muslim and Christian alike, so that we could stand together in the face of every attack against human dignity or religious freedom and cooperate on behalf of everything good.

"What displeases us is that if you are hurt, we are hurt. The disaster that afflicts a brother afflicts all of his brothers.

"Because we lament the situation that has befallen the Yugoslav people, we categorically condemn the foul, inhuman deeds that are being committed there, which anger God and the soul of every living soul, no matter what his religion or beliefs. We look at everybody, Muslims and Christians, as people whom God created and loves. Just as He does, we love them all. We pray to God for them, for a speedy deliverance from their ordeal.

"Since both of us condemn what has befallen the Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we wish to clarify certain

matters concerning this struggle. Despite the fact that we are certain that the facts in these matters will be attained, it is difficult in clashes existing among peoples today because of the many and varied local and international factors that are intertwined.

"There are two races involved in this clash. On the one hand, there are Christian Serbs and, on the other, Muslim Bosnians, aided by the Christian Croats. These two are united against the Serbs. The Muslim and Christian are mutual victims.

"You ask about the voice of the Church and the Christian voice. Why haven't they been raised as yet?

"As for the Church's voice, and the voice of the Christian religion, it does not differentiate between one person and another.

"Every person, before being a Christian or a Muslim, is God's creation. He has unlimited dignity, and no one may attack him, no matter for what racial reason or matter of belief.

"As for the voice of the Holy Father, it has been heard repeatedly, grieving, condemning, imploring, and calling for peaceful solutions. However, that which is causing this situation is what is usually caused in our Arab media. That is that the voice of the pope, for whatever reason it is raised and heard throughout the world, has no voice in our media. The fault here is not the absence of a word by the Holy Father, but rather, the fault is the absence of listeners to that voice.

"Again, I would like to say that the tragedy of all the Yugoslav people concern us. We are pained by whatever injures our Muslim brothers in this Holy Land and in the world and by whatever happens to our brothers in belief in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We believe that every religion must condemn all violence and all attacks on the dignity of man, no matter what racial disputes exist among peoples. In southern Sudan, there also are disputes and conflict between the Muslim North and the Christian South. It is the duty of us all not to side with this or that, but rather, we should defend together, Christian and Muslim, the dignity, freedom, and human rights of Muslim and Christian alike.

"Our devotion to our belief is devotion to what God has recompensed us in His world. The most beloved in God's world is the human being, no matter what his religion. How nice it would be if believers could cooperate to counter any attack against the dignity of man, by whoever derides religion by launching wars and civil strife. How nice it would be if we could come together to keep the Christian and Islamic religions equally free from conflict and violence, so that we could make every religion an instrument for good, instead of an instrument for confrontation and violence.

"We pray God that He will treat us gently in this holy land of His and everywhere on Earth, and that He continue to be understanding of all those who believe in

Him, so that they may be His servants on earth and defend the integrity of every human being, no matter what his faith.

The Messiah said: "Blessed be the peacemakers, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Reasons for 'Right of Return' Debated

93AE0202B Tel Aviv YEDIO'T AHARONOT in Hebrew
8 Dec 92 p 19

[Commentary by Aharon Papo: "The Return of the Right of Return"]

[Text] Not many people remember that the murder of the athletes in Munich was termed the "Iqrit-Bir'am Campaign" by the terrorist broadcasting station in Cairo. This is the clearest signal that for the Arabs the return of the residents to those two villages is a symbolic political act that will constitute a precedent for the return of the 1948 refugees and the implementation of the PLO "right of return," that master plan for the destruction of the State of Israel.

If the Prime Minister gives in to the Meretz pro-Arab lobby and decides to return the inhabitants of Iqrit and Bir'am, it will be a fatal mistake that the Jewish people will regret for generations. The State of Israel has never agreed, and if she wants to live she never will agree, to the return of the refugees and the uprooted to their pre-War of Independence homes. The reason is that if Israel is flooded with Arabs, she will not be able to exist as a Jewish state. This is clear as day.

It is the nature of wars that they change the circumstances of life, uproot populations, settle them in different places and change the geopolitical and demographic situation. Those who want to roll back the wheel of history and put things back the way they were, as if the war had not changed anything, often cause a much greater evil than that which caused the war. If, for example, Germany would want to return the territories of East Prussia that were annexed to Poland after World War II, the damage to world peace and to the Polish people would be much greater than what was apparently caused Germany.

By the same token, it is impossible to change the demographic-geographic situation in the Land of Israel as if there had been no war between the Jews and the Arabs and as if the first task of the State of Israel is not to maintain the security of her Jews and enable them to live a secure and prosperous life.

The residents of Iqrit and Bir'am rely on the promise given them upon the evacuation of their villages in 1949 that they would shortly be returned to them; but that promise was not kept for security reasons, and the fact is that in 1953 the village's homes were destroyed. The state cannot behave like a British gentleman when it comes to security considerations and national policy.

The precedent of returning the Arabs to their destroyed villages will be seen by them and the international media as an act of further submission to Arab demands and the beginning of the process of return of the refugees, as well as a binding precedent.

Even twenty years ago, at the time of one of the political campaigns waged by the leftist groups "Matzpen" and "Siah" for the return of the residents of the two villages, there was talk of how the residents of nine other villages in a similar situation were waiting their turn.

There is also no humanitarian reason for the return of the inhabitants of Iqrit and Bir'am. They are all well established in other settlements. The priest Khouri, one of their leading spokesmen, even points to their strong economic situation and says that they have the resources to develop the area. Therefore it is not a question of hardship, but of the political will to return just for the sake of doing so, no matter what.

But nevertheless it may be that the Jews have a prior right of return. Yitzhaq Rabin should not forget that Bir'am is the ancient Jewish city from the period of the Mishna known as Bar'am, and should remember the elegant synagogue there whose impressive facade graced the red 500-prutah note of 1955; while Iqrit is Yoqrat in Hebrew, also from the Talmudic period. If there is a right of return, then the return of the Jews takes precedence over the return of the Arabs, who built their homes on the ruins of the Jewish settlements.

Attractions of Proposed 'Peace Canal'

93AE0147C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
13 Nov 92 p B2

[Article by 'A. Alder: Laudermilk or Blaumilch]

[Text] Yitzhaq Rabin, the realistic man and the skeptic, surprised his government members this week when he attacked his friend, Treasury Minister Avraham Shohet, who tried to knock the wind out of the sails of Shim'on Peres' water canal. This was after the foreign minister reported on the great interest on the part of the Jordanians in the Red Sea-Dead Sea project and related that the Italians have already proposed financing an initial feasibility survey.

"What do you want?" Rabin asked Shohet vehemently. "You are supposed to check out the issue seriously. In any case it does not cost you a cent."

The prime minister heard that the Italian Deputy Prime Minister [Guiseppe Giacobazo], who came to Jerusalem to deal with what are customarily described as bilateral topics, was urgently called to Jordan on the matter of the same canal. The latest term in contacts with western Europe is "regional projects" or "multilateral."

In recent months, since the reversal in Israel, the Middle East is capturing the imagination of the Italians, Germans, and the French. Even the cautious British complained that they were not being invited to pave roads in the Galilee or to build train tracks in the Negev. But, without a solution to the water dispute in the region, the political dispute will not be solved either.

The road to preparing the Jordanians to agree on an agenda in the bilateral talks went through the sources of the Yarmukh. As a gesture of good will—in no way as a precedent—Israel allotted them an extra portion of water from the joint source. It is a drop in the ocean, but it hinted that it worthwhile for them to be nice. When the day comes, the water is also liable to be an obstacle for a border agreement between Israel and Syria. The experts are of the unanimous opinion that, without new water sources, the region will be subject to constant war over its dwindling sources.

The winter is a little late this year, and the farmers are already feeling pressure. If not for the torrential rains last winter, the Kinneret level would leave the red line at a very troubling distance above it. In the Transjordan the situation is no better. In the paper that the Jordanians presented a few months ago to the multilateral task force on water matters, which convened in Vienna, they told of an enormous population growth: 8 percent per year in the past 40 years. More than half of the growth comes from waves of immigration from Palestinian refugees.

Jordan's water sources can supply the needs of 1.4 million residents. Already today, 4 million Jordanians depend on that water. Irrigation water was diverted for municipal use, and its place was taken by drainage water at a high environmental price and health risk. The Jordanians have determined that Jordan, the West Bank, and the Gaza strip are on the verge of an impasse in their efforts to ensure themselves any water reservoirs.

But the key sentence in the Jordanian paper, the one that translates peace in tangible terms, is the sentence that determines that: "In our looking toward an era of enduring peace and regional cooperation, we see before us a common mission...but how can we continue in cooperation without the rehabilitation and desalination of the waters of the Jordan. The advantage of conservation is in the achievement of symmetry and experiencing the development of the Jordan Valley from its two sides, which will give both sides enormous environmental, economic, and social achievements. If the matter falls on attentive ears, accompanied by mutual trust, it is possible to predict a number of areas of regional cooperation with the blessing and support of the international community."

The Jordanians blame Israel for exploiting water belonging to their neighbors, and the Israelis unanimously believe that a different division would not solve the problem that also presses Syria for very long. They detail some alternatives to increase the water sources

and, in the end, reach the summary: hydro-electric energy—a Red Sea-Dead Sea canal.

The Jordanians, like the Israelis, are concerned about the continual drying process of the Dead Sea. Up until 20 years ago, the level was 395 meters below sea level. Today it stands at -401, and they anticipate that in another 10 years it will decrease to -416, and the flow of drainage water from the surroundings will increase. A canal that will connect the Dead Sea to the Red Sea will enable monitoring of the lowest water level in the world. The Jordanians are also drawn to the potential concealed in differences in the levels between the water basins, approximately 160 km apart from each other. The energy that would be possible to extract from the salt water would serve the desalination plants that would desalinate it, as well as their distribution to either side of the valley.

When we talk about water canals to the sea, an analogy is almost automatically drawn to the Blaumilch canal—the creation of Efraim Qishon about the incredulity of the one digging a canal in the heart of Tel Aviv and who is receiving the support of the authorities. Professor Yuval Na'aman's water canal reminds many now of Ya'aqov Meridor promise to light all of Ramat Gan with one electric bulb. But the water canal program was authorized to a great extent by Begin's government, and thousands of Jews bought bonds to finance the project that excited their imagination.

Apparently, not all of them knew that, already in 1902 Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl raised the idea on the pages of [?"Altneueland"]. At the start of the century, behind the program was the idea to create energy for farm use developing in the new country, and Professor Walter Lauder milk dealt with it in 1944.

Under conditions of cold war, the political border between Israel and Jordan presented difficult topographical conditions to the canal initiators, who turned the mission into expensive, if not impossible. An open political border and the integration of interests are opening the border fence to a canal that can dodge the environmental obstacles and supply the needs of a larger population, at the addition of a relatively small cost. With the water comes the appetite: today we are dealing with Jerusalem, Rabat 'Amon, and Rome in a multi-purpose program.

Apart from the creation of sources of energy and water, and preserving the Dead Sea's wealth, they are talking of a deep-water port at the expanded opening of the canal that will be dug in the Red Sea. Along with the increased commercial capacity of the ports, this would enable Israel and Jordan to make the ports of Eilat and 'Aqaba into tourist beaches adorned with hotels and spas, and to care for the coral preserves.

The tourists could go out sailing along the canal toward the Dead Sea. Fishermen could cast their nets in its waters and farmers on both sides of the 'Arava Valley would enjoy an abundance of water that would irrigate

areas that are not exploited today. The canal would drain the drainage waters of Eilat and 'Aqaba, and desalination installations would purify them.

The Armand Hammer Foundation for Economic Cooperation in the Middle East commissioned the University of Tel Aviv for data and recommendations on water desalination by means of the canal from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. Professors Pinhas Glukstern and Gid'on Fishelson wrote 26 pages, along with tables, maps, and diagrams, based on the proposal to exploit the differences in heights for the purpose of water desalination by the reverse osmosis method.

The researchers point out that this project is preferred over the water canal that was planned to connect the Mediterranean Sea from the Gaza strip to the Dead Sea (a distance of 100 km)—and not simply because the water canal would have encountered the hard rocks of the Judean mountains. This time, a regional project is being discussed, a model for cooperation between Israel and Arabs that would earn external economic aid at a low interest rate and easy credit conditions.

According to the research presented in April of this year, these are the characteristics of the Red Sea-Dead Sea canal:

- The estimated cost to yield 1 square meter of water will be between 50 to 60 cents, on the assumption that the topographical conditions will be optimally exploited. An improvement to the desalination method could reduce the cost by 20 percent.
- The period to construct the project—15 years.
- An electricity generating installation will not pollute energy sources.
- Joint monitoring and control of Israel and Jordan over project construction.
- The water will be lifted from the Red Sea to a height of 220 meters above sea level, in open canals and tunnels.
- The project will reduce the costs of extracting potash from the Dead Sea and will sustain tourism along it.
- The project construction and treatment of installations will supply employment for thousands of workers.

The two researchers agree that the installation costs of a canal on a relatively small magnitude (30 million cubic meters per second) will be \$50 million per year. The anticipated annual profit from the branches of marine agriculture comes to \$40 million per year. A canal of a larger magnitude will yield 50 million cubic meters per second.

All of these data lead them to the conclusion that the economic worthiness of the project requires a more extensive examination. An initial, very rough calculation proves the cost of construction to be \$1.8 billion. An Italian company specializing in these types of surveys took on this challenge this week.

The World Bank is also interested in this special project, which integrates all of the elements that four of the five multilateral task forces are dealing with: water, economic cooperation, environmental quality, and refugees who could get their bread out of the fertile land. Blaumilch canal? Even in Qishon's story, the Tel Aviv residents are finally withdrawing their objections to the Allenby-Ben Yehuda canal.

Ge'ula Kohen on Return to Likud

93AE0165A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 27 Nov 92 p 12

[Commentary by Ge'ula Kohen]

[Text] The breathing spell I gave myself after the elections to do some soul searching was objectively perhaps too short, but subjectively it was too long. Yes, it was torture for me to sit on the sidelines precisely when the policies of the left were running wild in the center. Yes, it has been torture for me to continue feeling a personal responsibility for the things happening to my people and my land—(although a feeling of personal responsibility does not hold up in an election at the polls...)—feeling that “the work is not mine to finish, but neither am I free to desist from it,”—and yet, having to hold back with all my strength, from interfering and trying to influence.

But long or short, the breathing spell ended for me this week with this decision: I am returning to the Likud.

This week I sent the chairman of the Tehiya (Renaissance) movement a letter, which included these main points: although Tehiya's political message is still alive and well, and even truer today than ever before; Tehiya as a political framework—no more! The main lesson the election results teach, for every member of Tehiya as well as for every member of Whole Land of Israel ('Eretz Yisrael Shlema) movement, is the importance of working to unify all the political forces on the right side of the map into one framework. I decided: this week, I signed the member registration form for the Likud.

When I left in June of 1979, the Likud was on top, in power; I too, if I may speak personally, was in a good position in the middle (the middle of the first group of seven...); as I return to the Likud today—the Likud as it is now, flat on its face from the shock of the blow that hit it and brought it down, the political situation proves today more than ever before how right the Whole Land of Israel movement, which also gave birth to Tehiya, was. How right we were in our predictions of the serious ramifications the Camp David accords would have, of how they would be interpreted as precedents and “linkage” for other withdrawals our enemies will want to force on us in Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and the Golan Heights.

No, I am under no illusion that the Likud will rise up tomorrow morning and formally shake off the Camp David accords—and this despite the fact that there are objective reasons for them to do it. With that, and

despite the fact that in politics there are no guarantees and no safety belts—today I am still filled with the hope that what the Likud did not see from there, from the seat of power—that is, the dangers of the Camp David autonomy plan—it will see today from here, from the seat of the opposition.

Already, the Likud is showing signs, even if still halting, that it is getting out the Camp David entrapment, an entrapment that keeps the Likud today from attacking the policies of the Rabin government with clean hands. Already, more and more voices in the Likud are calling for a revision of the Likud's commitment to Camp David in general, and to any autonomy plan that is not preceded by application of Israeli sovereignty.

And this is no accident: in the end the conceptual and historical roots of the Likud in everything connected to the Whole Land of Israel are deep. The Likud is the only alternative political movement available today, for which “Land of Israel” is not a dirty word, and for which the struggle to settle in every part of the Land of Israel is an inseparable part of its practical policies.

Still, I am not sorry I left the Likud when I did, and with my comrades, helped to found “Tehiya.” Here, we too, those loyal to the Land of Israel, must succeed in doing from here, from the heart of the Likud, what we did not succeed in doing from there, from the opposition. What we did not succeed in doing even when we were a coalition threat in the heart of the national government—we did not succeed in keeping the Likud government from going to Madrid.

I believe I was right when I was among those in Tehiya who suggested that we drop out the Likud government because of, and before, the trip to Madrid.

If at Camp David the tracks of the train liable to lead us down us down into retreat from Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, and the Golan Heights as well, were laid, God forbid; in Madrid, the engine was actually moved onto the track.

But the historical guilt for going to Madrid falls on Tehiya, Tsomet (Crossroads), and Moledet (Homeland), too, for together they could have kept the Shamir government from entering the trap, and they did not do it.

From my point of view, Tehiya and Moledet's leaving the government after Madrid had no effect pro or con: the political damage had already been done. But Tehiya and Moledet's leaving the government could not alone have forced early elections if Shamir had not wanted that. If Shamir had not wanted early elections, he could have—despite Tehiya and Moledet dropping out—answered Rafi's call/plea to return to the government, and he had the majority to keep the government going right up until this month.

But Shamir—for reasons of his own, especially from intraparty reasons—precisely wanted early elections, but only after Madrid.

Whether the fight should be from inside or outside is not the main thing for me. The main thing is furthering our ideological and political principles. A fact: when I suggested in July of 1982, three months after the uprooting of Yamit, with the smell of the great burning still in my nose, that we join the government of Menahem Begin (may he rest in peace), there was not one of my comrades who did not stand up and rage against me. But the determining factor for the Tehiya secretariat, too, when it decided whether to join, was a single consideration: that we must further our struggle to settle in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, as much as possible while the PLO was still under attack in Lebanon. And indeed, many dozens of settlements rose then in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, as a result of the decisions of the Ministerial Committee for Settlements which Tehiya minister, Yuval Ne'eman, headed.

To learn lessons, we must look back; to apply lessons, we must look forward—hoping that the Likud today is returning to itself politically and also organizationally. We must help the Likud to return to itself, to remove the Left from power as soon as possible, before the Left manages to remove us from the Land of Israel.

We do not have much time, and who knows whether in this century of ours, this is not the last chance.

So to all those who told me before, during, and after the elections, "I am with you!" I say today: "Come with me to the Likud."

Although I have never been afraid of thorns, I know that no bed of roses is awaiting me in the Likud; all the more so because the Likud is having trouble finding its hands and feet; for they, rightfully, are busy today looking for the head—and without a head, of course, no body can function.

And so, if I can pray only one prayer today on my way to the Likud, it will be the same one I have prayed to God every morning of my political life: give me the understanding to know the difference between personal considerations and practical considerations, and give me the strength to rise above personal and private considerations, in favor of practical and national considerations.

Ge'ula Kohen's Return to Likud Questioned

93AE0202A Tel Aviv YEDIO'T AHARONOT in Hebrew
29 Nov 92 p 19

[Commentary by Ruvi Rivlin: "Ge'ula Does Not Remember What She Is Going Back To?"]

[Text] The public figure and former Knesset member Ge'ula Kohen is known as an uncompromising fighter for her views. She would always take the trouble to remind anyone willing to listen that the Prophets in their day were also in the minority and those of their generation ignored them, despite the fact that they were right. In the name of her "truth and justice," she left the Likud movement when, as leader of the government of Israel

headed by Menahem Begin, it signed the Camp David accords that brought about peace with Egypt on the one hand and the evacuation of the Sinai on the other.

Begin's agreement to the establishment of autonomy was seen by Ge'ula Kohen as apostasy, and the evacuation of the Sinai and destruction of Yamit, as treason. In the passion of her belief, she left the national center movement that Likud was and initiated the establishment of a radical right party that demanded in its political platform the application of Israeli law to all parts of the Land of Israel without giving the rights of citizens to its Arab inhabitants. "Immediate annexation" was her position when she established Tehiya.

Despite the fact that Tehiya as a political party was unsuccessful in gaining the confidence of the nationalist public and did not win more than a small number of Knesset seats, Ge'ula always treated Likud as if she were the leader of the majority movement and Likud served only as a satellite movement on the fringe. She attached no importance to the arithmetical facts (40 seats for Likud and only three for Tehiya) nor to the political facts (the public backed Likud and only a few clung to the uncompromising positions of Tehiya).

And if anyone thought that Ge'ula Kohen stood up only to Begin and the Irgun people, she proved, with the coming of Shamir—her commander in Lehi—that everyone else might adjust their positions to political developments, but Ge'ula would not budge. To no avail were the arguments that it was only a matter of tactics, the purpose of which was to achieve the same goal: the establishment of a democratic Jewish state in all parts of the Land of Israel. In Tehiya's eyes, going to the Madrid conference was like crossing the Rubicon, and she indicated that Shamir was showing signs of feeble-mindedness. The result: withdrawal from the coalition that, in the final analysis, brought about early elections that put an end to Tehiya as a party and devotees of the Land of Israel as leaders of the Israeli government.

So what has changed now? Likud has not gone back on its platform. The autonomy solution is the only one its leaders consider worthwhile, and the desire to achieve peace with the Arab countries is its basic approach. Nevertheless, Ge'ula is returning to the fold.

To Ge'ula Kohen's credit, it must be said that she was never a political trapeze artist. Her mouth and her heart function as one. To this day it has never been possible to buy her off with a job, and power has not blinded her. So, what is driving her to go back to the home she so despised? What reason did she find for returning to Likud, whose platform she describes as "insanity" and whose approach she characterizes as a disaster for the Land of Israel and a danger to the integrity of the homeland?

Everyone who joins Likud signs a request and declares that he "recognizes the principles of Likud and is obliged to fulfill all the obligations imposed upon him by the rules of the movement and its authorized institutions,

and to act with dedication for the achievement of its goals." Ge'ula Kohen will never lie to herself, and Likud will never be a second Tehiya. It already contains people who rallied against Camp David, but in exchange for a government seat participated in the evacuation of Yamit and commanded it. It has those who would destroy the Herut movement because it chose Menahem Begin's course and adopted his solution. However, those are the same politicians who profess Likud doctrine with their mouths but act in the manner of Tehiya or Moledet. That was not your way, Ge'ula Kohen, and it must never be. Continue to live by your beliefs, for you will never agree that only Likud's course can maintain the integrity of the Jewish homeland.

Analysis of Netanyahu, Begin, Levi Campaigning

93AE0146B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
22 Aug 92 p B3

[Article by Urit Galili]

[Text] The 1,600 members of the Likud central committee who convened last Sunday for their central congress felt genuine apprehension. What would happen if the congress ended without a decision? There was just one purpose to most of the reservations appended to the original proposal, which various factions in the movement had put forth: to negate the worst decreed by the new democratic process. Generally speaking, the new electoral reforms mean a loss of power for certain people and an increase in power for others. Thus, by a clear majority of 80%, the congress decided that an exercise in 43 reservations would not work. The central committee members understood that even if they excluded themselves from this body, there was no avoiding the sacrifice that must be made to save the Likud.

The most talked-about subject at the congress were the dismissals of many central committee members from government offices and other public institutions. Those who did not attend the congress feared for their jobs. What was clearly visible in the congress parking lot was that committee members had arrived in older model cars. Car phones, which not long ago had been de rigueur for every last junior assistant as a status symbol for central committee members in recent years, were almost entirely absent. And both Dan Meridor and Roni Milo, who once stood high as the sky, as one participant put it, also seemed, at eye level like the rest of us, mere mortals.

Yitzhaq Shamir saw nothing dramatic in the congress. So far as he was concerned, it was nothing but another episode in the gray and drab run of politics. Other circles in the Likud, of course, considered it in a different light.

After Menachem Begin's retirement from leadership of the movement, Shamir was portrayed as a temporary chairman. Because of this sense of impermanence, each factional chief in the Likud waited for the day that Shamir would step down to assume his rightful place. Shamir's legitimacy as Begin's heir always stood in

doubt. Thus, the congress for many symbolizes more than anything else the chance to select a permanent chairman.

Shamir did not work particularly hard to create unity and a spirit of cooperation among the different streams. Nor did he want to invest much effort in that. He preferred another route: he created a new situation by nurturing the young - Roni Milo, Benyamin Netanyahu, Dan Meridor, Ehud Olmert, and Moshe Qatzav. Shamir gave them preference, advancing them over a generation senior to them. But the luminaries of these crown princes faded away with the loss of power. This royal group was held together only by their closeness to Shamir.

Government rule had made this elite clique, which bred a feeling that it was working above all to preserve its own power, seem essential; now that aura is gone. Since the Likud has gone into opposition, Shamir has often been heard to say that the most painful thing for him is that the young generation he brought up is unable to pull together and cooperate. Each of them is working for himself. Milo, who may run for mayor of Tel Aviv, is not actively and openly involved in the struggle for primacy in the movement. He used to be a kingmaker. What does he need now with a fight against the others? Meridor works as one of Begin's assistants but keeps a low profile away from the center of action, while Olmert is almost completely invisible. Netanyahu looks out only for himself.

For example, the day after the congress the media labeled Netanyahu its big winner, but he had almost no part in preparing the proposal brought before it. True, he told the media from the start that the process itself would be a personal victory for him, but others, primarily Uzi Landau and Shamir, drafted the proposal. They spent long hours crafting it these past months, dodging all the various factions, and without the support of David Levi at every stage of its preparation, the proposal would not have passed in the congress. Its authors simply would not have succeeded in obtaining an agreement.

The day after the congress, Shamir spoke with one of his followers. He was in much improved spirits, very pleased that the proposal had passed. But don't make the mistake of thinking that the former prime minister meant that he is happy that there are primaries in the Likud. On the contrary, the primaries for Shamir are by no means a vision of the messianic age. He does not like the idea that the election system will focus on individuals instead of on ideological content. He understands, however, that this is the what the congress participants are doing and has decided to go along with it.

Meridor, the man whom Shamir esteems most in the Likud, saw every draft presented to Shamir, while Shamir for his part made an effort to isolate himself from substantive questions. In fact, he had no position on the questions that so stirred up the contending parties before the congress. He did not care whether the necessary majority was to be 40% or 50%, or

whether there was to be a division in the voting, so that a movement chairman chosen at the beginning would later have to obtain confirmation as its candidate for prime minister. Shamir wanted only one thing: that the proposal he presented would pass with a majority of 75%, thus avoiding a situation in which all sorts of people would demand a repetition of the process in the central committee.

What comes out of this and the decision made at the congress is that two men, in practice, had a complete identity of interests. Shamir and Netanyahu both wanted the decisionmaking process to finish as quickly as possible. This was helpful to Shamir because he wants to go home; Netanyahu needs it because he wants to burst ahead in his drive to become leader of the party and prime minister. In this context, it is worth noting that it would be a mistake to believe that Shamir is entirely withdrawing from political life. He is not combining his withdrawal from leadership of the Likud with resignation from the Knesset. Shamir has no plans to leave the Knesset. Thus, Ari'el Weinstein, who yearns to enter the Knesset, will have to go on waiting patiently.

Levi's followers say that, from his point of view, the congress closed a circle. At the 1986 convention, Levi triumphed in the ward elections but the fusion of different sectors changed the power relationships at the congress. Since the current congress, the same parties, on the assumption that any change will weaken their position in the Likud, have been attempting to delay every democratic process in order to preserve the existing order. Accordingly, many believe that Levi's camp sees the results of the congress as a victory.

These parties are saying that they have wanted change for years and never ceased fighting the camp that is against change. Now the picture looks completely different. At a meeting of Levi's top supporters after the congress, however, the familiar complaints of discrimination were heard: Why did Netanyahu get all the credit? That is also the reason that Levi, aiming primarily at Netanyahu, noisily lets things out in the weekend newspapers. Levi is weaving a new web of power with him on one side, the princes on the other and all of them, for his own reasons, trying to neutralize Netanyahu, the rising media star. If they succeed, the battle for command of the Likud will take on a different character.

Further penetrating analysis done at Levi headquarters after the congress led to two conclusions: Netanyahu's pre-congress media attack has exhausted itself so that it is now difficult for him to renew it. Similarly, the results of the congress prove that while Netanyahu took a bite out of the hard core of the Shamir-Arens camp, in other words, Benny Begin, the hard core of Levi's camp stood firm. According to this analysis, both Begin and Netanyahu are unable to take people from Levi. Begin and Netanyahu can only undercut one another; one gains strength only at the other's expense.

One congress participant stated this week that the two foundations of the Likud are the fighting family on one hand and, on the other, residents of the poorer neighborhoods and development towns. Benny Begin represents the fighting family, Levi the neighborhoods. In trying to build a new Likud, Netanyahu is yanking out these roots and creating a new balloon with media support. Putting a pin in this balloon, the participant wound up, is the easiest thing in the world. But will anyone stick in the pin? he asked. No, he answered his question, because while that would be very easy to do, the end of the balloon would mean the end of the Likud. What he proposed was that the media refrain from inflating the balloon.

Now that the rules have been fixed at the congress, what is expected in the coming months is a personal election campaign by the candidates, each in his own style. Netanyahu, of course, will do what he does best—polished media appearances with a lot of presence. Already last weekend, he found time for meetings with reporters. Levi will work the social angle as the most authentic representative, as his followers put it, of Israel's social revolution. To whatever extent the current government's social and economic problems worsen, Levi will find natural and fertile ground to work. People are less inclined to listen to Netanyahu on these subjects. And what will Benny Begin do? He will make bus trips to the wards, direct personal attacks at Netanyahu and sharpen the innate leadership qualities that he believes lie within him. His followers may try to learn the lesson of the congress: be wise, not right.

No one should forget Ari'el Sharon. He may have given up for the time being on the contest for chairman of the movement but never rush to count him out. Everyone who heard his attack on Shamir and the Likud this week understood which way the wind was blowing. Sharon is preparing the ground for the possibility that he may stand at the front of a large right-wing bloc, which may take support from the Likud and perhaps become the balance of power. Thus, Sharon cannot be overlooked; anyone who has his eye on the long term will try to approach Sharon and include him in the future leadership in order to prevent him from doing mischief from outside. At least for two in the contest, however, it will be difficult to work with him.

'Kakh,' 'Kahane Hay' Movements Assessed

93AE0147A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
18 Nov 92 p 2

[Article by N. Shergay: A Constant Security Surveillance on 'Kakh' and 'Kahane Hay']

[Text] Whenever terror is used against Arabs in Jerusalem or in the territories, the finger points, almost naturally, to the 'Kakh' movement and 'Kahane Hay,' the inheritors of the Kakh movement founded by Me'ir Kahane. The reasons for this are understandable. The platforms of these movements are extremist, racist, and

anti-Arab, and they express an almost open joy over every attack against the minorities.

However, just because of this, there is only a slight probability that the institution or organization of one of these two movements, or central activists on their behalf, could be behind the operation the day before yesterday in the butchers' market in the Old City.

They are under constant surveillance by security forces, as are their offices, homes, telephones, and meeting places. They, as well as the police, know this, and the rules of the game are clear. Barukh Marzal and Tiran Pollack from Kakh, or Binyamin Kahane from Kahane Hay became entangled, and were often suspected, in various disturbances, some of them serious, including damage to Arab property, but they refrained from any incidents promoting the use of firearms against Arabs not within the framework of a response linked to an incident of scheming against Jews.

The messages received on Sunday afternoon by police reporters' beepers in Jerusalem were more reminiscent of the messages received by the same beepers a few years earlier, when grenades were placed at the doorways of mosques and churches in the capital. At that time, an unknown organization called TNT [expansion not given] claimed responsibility for the actions.

Similar messages were received on behalf of the sicarii [Jewish terrorists in the late Second Temple period], following every incident of scheming against Jews, judges, and media from the left. Even anonymous messages on behalf of Kakh and Kahane Hay arouse the impression of an attempt to "hitchhike" and draw media attention.

Like Underground Groups

The group called "The Jewish Underground" was comprised of a number of underground groups. One planned to bomb the mosques on the Temple Mount in order to bring redemption near, but also to torpedo the retreat from the Sinai. The second one worked against the leaders of the Committee for National Alignment, in order to punish the leaders of the Arab population for attacks on Jews at Beyt Hadassah (murder of the six in 1980). The third carried out the murder of the three students at the Islamic college in Hebron for similar motives, and the fourth almost succeeded in carrying out a plan to bomb the people on five buses of the East Jerusalem transportation company, this, too, in retaliation for attacks on Jews.

Yoel Lerner, in the past, served prison terms for plans to bomb the Dome of the Rock and for considering a plan that was intended, according to the suspect, to torpedo the retreat from the Sinai in the period of the separation accords with Egypt. Yehuda Richter, Me'ir Lebovitz and Me'ir Hazan, from the Kakh periphery, former members of the Jewish Defense League, in March 1984, shot a bus full of Arab workers near Mizra'at al-Sharqiya, injuring

six, in response to the bombing of bus line 18 in the capital, in which five Jews found their deaths.

Their friend, Mike Gozobski, subsequently, Ben-Ya'aqov, currently one of the leaders of Kahane Hay, was acquitted in the same incident, but he is one of those with a rich past in the ranks of the extreme right. A few years ago, FBI agents arrived in Israel in the framework of an investigation that the American authorities were conducting against 35 people suspected of executing attacks against Arab and neo-Nazi targets.

The List of 35

Most of those wanted come from the ranks of the Kakh movement, and some of them live in Qiryat Arba' and Hebron. Also appearing on the list of 35 is Yeqoti'el Ben-Ya'aqov, who was a former activist in the JDL [Jewish Defense League]. The FBI asked to interrogate Ben-Ya'aqov in the case of the murder of Alex 'Ode, a member of the Arab Anti-Defamation League, in October 1985, and the Shin Bet [General Security Services] interrogated him in the past on suspicion of a connection with the sicarii and the Suppression of Traitors organization, which, in the past, distributed announcements containing directives for Israel Defence Force [IDF] soldiers telling them how to better deal with Arabs.

One announcement even supplied directives for anyone wanting to conceal signs of shooting. Ben-Ya'aqov was the one chosen in the past by the leadership of the State of Judaea (an organization of those who left Kakh, whose goal was to replace the state of Israel—if it would turn over the territories) to convene a security forum that would consolidate an infrastructure for the army.

Ben-Ya'aqov was also interrogated in the past on suspicion of being connected to planning the murder of terrorists freed in the Jibril deal and on suspicion that his cronies had ties with the TNT gang from 'Eyn Kerem, which placed booby-trapped grenades at the entrances to churches and mosques in Jerusalem.

His friend, No'am Friedman, who is younger than he, has a past that is no less rich, during most of which a court-order prohibition to publish has been in force. However, this time, at least, Friedman is above suspicion, for he is now being detained on suspicion of burning automobiles in the Hebron region, in retaliation for attacks in Judaea.

Tiran Pollack, also one of the leaders of Kakh, was detained dozens of times in the past as a suspect in attacks on Arab property and Arabs. Last Sunday, Pollack was placed under a restraining order that the court issued against him, on the background of suspicion of disturbing the peace at the Hakhvati theater. Pollack is the man who wrote, following the firing of a Lau missile by David Ben-Shimul, upon the Arab bus full of travelers in the Hinnom Valley, that he is counted among the "Maccabis of our days."

In the firing of the Lau missile, one Arab was killed and 10 were injured. Ben-Shimul, a soldier in the regular army and a resident of Jerusalem, carried out the deed in retaliation for another attack on Jews a few months earlier. Pollack then wrote that outbursts in the Ben-Shimul style "are merely signs for the government that the day is not far off when the nation will rise up and solve the Arab problem on its own power."

Pollack also bestowed the title the "Maccabis of our days" upon the people of the Jewish underground, the members of Lifta', who attempted to bomb the Temple Mount, as well as [?Gil Fuchs] and Danny Eisenmann, who were convicted a few years ago in the murder of an Arab taxi driver in retaliation for the murder of a Jewish taxi driver.

'Fighting Scholars'

Other places in which the police and the Shin Bet will try to collect details and information in the coming days include the Tapuah settlement, which is in Samaria, the Jewish Idea Yeshiva, founded by Me'ir Kahane in Jerusalem, and the Committee for Security on the Roads, founded by the Kakh movement in Qiryat Arba'.

The Committee for Security on the Roads took credit, a few months ago, for throwing a number of explosive grenades on Arab residents in the Hebron market. It permanently accompanies public and private journeys along the Hebron-Jerusalem and Hebron-Beer-Sheva axes. For a brief period, the committee, also bestowed similar services on the Jewish transportation in East Jerusalem. Its people were involved in a series of violent incidents with Arabs.

The Jewish Idea Yeshiva, in the Shmu'el Hanavi' neighborhood in Jerusalem, was founded by the deceased Kakh leader, Me'ir Kahane, and it reflects the ideological school of thought for Kakh and Kahane Hay activists. The school curriculum includes much more of the Holy Scriptures and commentaries than is usual in the regular yeshivas that concentrate on Gemara studies.

The goal is to impart the Torah in its initial form, "without the diasporal mediation." The rabbis divulge terms to the students that are not usually heard at other seminaries, at least not in the accepted contexts at a yeshiva: self-sacrifice, sanctification of the Lord, Israeli pride, and the Temple.

Rabbi Kahane prepared to make his students into "fighting scholars, modeled after King David, who would go out to spread the complete and true world view of Judaism in all levels of the nation, and would free it from the complications and fears of the minority living among the goyim."

Ben-Tzion Gupstein from the Tapuah settlement in Samaria, the relatively new center of the Kahane Hay movement since its split from Kakh, was detained for many weeks on suspicion of murdering, the day after Kahane's murder, in Luben a-Sharqiya in the Nabulus

district, an elderly pair, Muhammad al-Hatib (65) and Miriam Saliman Basir (60). Gupstein was a graduate of the Jewish Idea. Together with him in detention were David Axelrod, also one of the Kahane Hay men, and David Cohen, both from Tapuah. They were released after no evidence could be found against them. The file has not been solved to this day.

Many of the militants from Kahane Hay are emigrants from the United States who reached Israel in the 1970's and 1980's. A few of them were members of the JDL, and they now live in Qiryat Arba' and Jerusalem. Most of the yeshivas and Jewish institutes now operating in the Muslim quarter are pacifists with no connection whatsoever to the Kakh extremists.

Members of 'Ateret Kohanim were the first to offer help to the wounded Arabs in the butchers' market, and have even initiated meetings for understanding and dialogue with the Arab residents of the Muslim quarter.

Pre-1948 Arabs Ready To Form Political Movement

*93AE0058B London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic
12 Oct 92 p 5*

[Article: "Christian Arabs in Pre-1948 Area Prepare To Announce Political Movement"]

[Text] Christian Arabs in the pre-1948 area have begun deliberations among themselves for the purpose of reaching a mutual agreement to establish a Christian political movement. This movement will be aimed at unifying the Arab Christian sects and strengthening their political demands in the Israeli partisan arena. Despite the fact that the discussions and meetings are designated top secret to prevent the interference of outside partisan and political factions, it has been revealed that more than 50 Arab Christians from Haifa, Nazareth, and Hebron held an important meeting last week in Haifa to prepare for the constituent assembly of this movement, scheduled to be established soon.

QUDS PRESS quoted prominent Christian leaders as saying: "The major Israeli parties, especially Labor and Likud, do not attach appropriate importance to members of the Christian sects in any political elections. In the recent parliamentary elections for the Israeli Knesset, the two major parties refused to give Christian candidates any basic seats within the lists of nominees for each party. Christians are usually given the smallest number of the other sectarian candidates."

Israeli officials justify this on grounds of the weak political influence of Christians, because of their fragmentation and lack of any supreme authority to unify them. Christians are divided into four main sects: Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, and Armenians. Each sect follows its own religious authority. In turn, this leads to wasting the votes of Christian voters and keeps them from having effective political clout.

According to the latest population statistics, published last September, the number of Christians has reached 135,000 out of a total population of 5,156,000. Their proportion is only 2.4 percent. However, they represent twice the percentage of the Druze sect, which totals 1.7 percent, with an estimated population of 86,000 and with a clear representation in the Israeli Knesset. A number of Druze leaders have attained influential government positions.

Israeli partisan and political circles are watching with obvious interest the establishment of such a movement. They expect that prominent Christian figures will join this movement, who have relations connecting them to Israeli leftist parties, such as the Communist Party, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, and the Progressive Movement, in addition to the Citizens' Rights Movement and MAPAM [United Workers] Parties. The movement's principal goal in forming a political pressure force is to attain a larger number of Christian candidates to the Israeli Knesset and, perhaps later, to obtain government positions in any future ministerial composition.

It was learned from informed sources that the Haifa meeting formed a preparatory committee, whose task is to prepare for the constituent assembly that is expected to be announced early next year. In addition, it will prepare the bylaws for the movement, its general constitution, and its membership rules.

Increasing Isolation of Gaza Discussed

TA08121637 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
in Hebrew 8 Dec 92 p 3

[Text] The murder of the three soldiers in the Sajaya neighborhood yesterday again demonstrated the fact that Gaza is enemy territory. Israelis no longer visit the area. The road from the Erez checkpoint into the city or the refugee camps has become a road to death.

Anarchy is rampant in Gaza. There is no law or order. Bands of wanted terrorists—the "shabab" heroes—have become rulers of the streets. They wander around with their weapons, freely murdering suspects and rivals. From within this anarchy, it is difficult for the General Security Services to obtain precise intelligence on wanted terror cells, and the actions of the undercover units become difficult and complicated.

The prime minister did not conceal his views on Gaza: "If only it would sink into the sea." In the meantime, however, no proposal for a unilateral withdrawal—or some other unilateral solution—for the Gaza Strip has been raised for discussion by the government. The government is waiting for a negotiated political solution, upon which the hope for a solution to the Gaza problem is dependent—and the solution is still far away. Until then, the Israel Defense Forces must bear the security burden which, unfortunately, involves loss of human life.

Activists Trained by West To Rule Territories

TA07121737 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 7 Dec 92 p 3

[Text] The business of training professional teams to create and staff the Palestinian ruling apparatus in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is gradually becoming the central activity in the lives of a few hundred activists in the territories. It began during the peak years of the intifadah, when members of the popular committees bragged about replacing the ruling institutions of the military administration. Then, the military administration outlawed the committees; now, this is being done with the encouragement and support of international institutions and foreign countries. In a number of instances, intifadah activists who were involved in the popular committees on economics, law, education, health, etc. are the ones training themselves today—toward the creation of a ruling mechanism.

Involved is American assistance in training Palestinian administrators and French aid in training communications professionals. A training course for television personnel, supported by the German Government, is now being conducted in East Jerusalem. The Canadian Government is assisting in the training of laborers and a special committee—working alongside the professional committees headed by Dr. Sari Nusaybah—is searching for manpower toward the creation of the Palestinian administration.

The establishment of a ruling apparatus is difficult for residents of the territories who have never had an independent administration. They must find suitable people for the creation of all types of economic systems and service networks; for the establishment of trade and taxation, transportation, energy, water, and population registration authorities; and for the planning and welfare of the entire complex administration of a modern state.

The fact that there was no such self-rule in the territories caused the emigration of tens of thousands of capable Palestinians to Jordan and other Arab states. From this standpoint, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have remained neglected provinces—without economic, social, and cultural centers.

Over the long years, residents of the territories have not seen a need to prepare a professional infrastructure in administrative areas because they were busy with the building of national consciousness. Research institutes and social centers established in the 1970s and 1980s, under the aegis of the PLO, concentrated the "nation-building" and the provision of a joint historical memory. Only once broad consciousness about the existence of a national entity was formulated, the recognition of the need to create an infrastructure for an independent apparatus was also realized.

Defense Exports Said Similar to Last Year

93AE0147B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
20 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by A. Ben: Ministry of Defense: Export of Israeli Weapons Will Keep the Year to a Rate Similar to Last Year]

[Text] Israel's defense exports will be slightly lower this year, but will maintain a similar rate to that of the past year—so estimate sources in the Ministry of Defense. In 1991, exports of Israeli weapons totaled \$1.58 billion. Defense export data for the current year will be totaled in final form only at the start of 1993, according to the reports that exporters are presenting to the Ministry of Defense. The data includes deals that have been finalized by signed contracts and not the shipments of weapons themselves.

In the Ministry of Defense it is estimated that this year weapons exports increased to Asian countries and eastern Europe. This will compensate for the reduction in sales to western Europe, which have lessened since 1989, and now total \$150 to \$200 million—less than half the sales of the previous year. The decline in sales was caused primarily by budget cuts in Germany, which, during the 1980's, bought hundreds of millions of dollars in munitions from Israel.

Expansion of Exports

Exports to the United States, which is approximately one-fourth of the total defense exports, will remain the same—approximately \$400 million—and thus, too, exports to Latin America, totaling approximately \$150 million. In the defense system it is estimated that it is possible to expand exports to Asia and eastern Europe, so that they will capture a larger segment of the Israeli weapons exports in the coming years. Asian countries, such as China, Taiwan, India, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea, are in a munitions race and are increasing their defense budgets.

In eastern Europe, the former communist countries have again begun to invest in their armies and in the improvement of old weapons systems. The eastern Europeans suffer from finance problems but, in Israel, they say that they are succeeding in finding investment sources on issues of national importance, such as defense. In the last two years, Israel has exported approximately \$100 million in weapons to eastern Europe, but some of the countries there show restraint in the creation of defense connections.

The primary factor that influenced the global weapons market in the past two years was the large budget cuts in the U.S. and western European countries. The cuts were expressed by a reduction in imports and turning acquisition and development orders over to domestic industries, and in the appearance of American companies in Third World markets. The American defense industries, in the past, preferred to supply their products to the Pentagon, and now have been pressed to increase their exports.

Israel sources state that it is difficult to assume that the export of Israeli weapons to the United States will increase in the coming years, since American industries will fight against foreign competitors, and the Pentagon will prefer to purchase from domestic companies.

The Peace Process Is Helping

The peace process and the delivery from international isolation are helping Israel in the sales of weapons to Western countries and in the Third World, which, in the past had refrained from contact with it. In the past two years, ties to countries in western Europe have strengthened, and plans for cooperation on different projects are being examined.

In the defense system, they are saying that it is possible to maintain the rate of defense exports and even to increase it in the coming years. The exports capture the primary portion in defense industry sales. Israeli industry has become expert in finding quick technological solutions for operational problems, taking advantage of the Israel Defense Force combat experience. Israeli companies have captured a leading spot in the upgrade market for tanks and planes, and this is an advantage when budgets are small and many armies are investing in improvements to existing weaponry, instead of equipping themselves with new means. Companies such as Ta'as, which has based itself on mass production of completed products, will continue to suffer hardships in the marketing of their products.

The new reality also obligates the Israeli industries to strengthen the cooperation with the domestic industries in the countries purchasing weapons. The Combat Means Development Authority is in partnership with Martin Marietta on projects being sold to branches of the American military, such as Popeye missiles and [?shielding] for armored troop vehicles. The Aircraft Industry is a partner with TRW in the MATZLATs [remotely piloted vehicle] project, and, according to foreign advertisements, last year it established a joint company with the aircraft industry of Chile.

Investment in Research and Development

Various sources in the defense system are saying that the defense industries must improve their marketing system abroad in order to increase sales. The Ministry of Defense is pressuring the Israeli companies to cooperate in foreign markets and to avoid, as much as possible, competition among themselves abroad, which could result in the reduction of prices and damage business profits.

An additional suggestion is an increase in the research and development base that would make it possible to develop the next generation of military technology. In recent years there has been a great decline in the MUP [expansion not given] that the Ministry of Defense has been ordering from the defense industries. "We, today, are enjoying the sales of systems whose development began 10 to 15 years ago," they say in the defense system.